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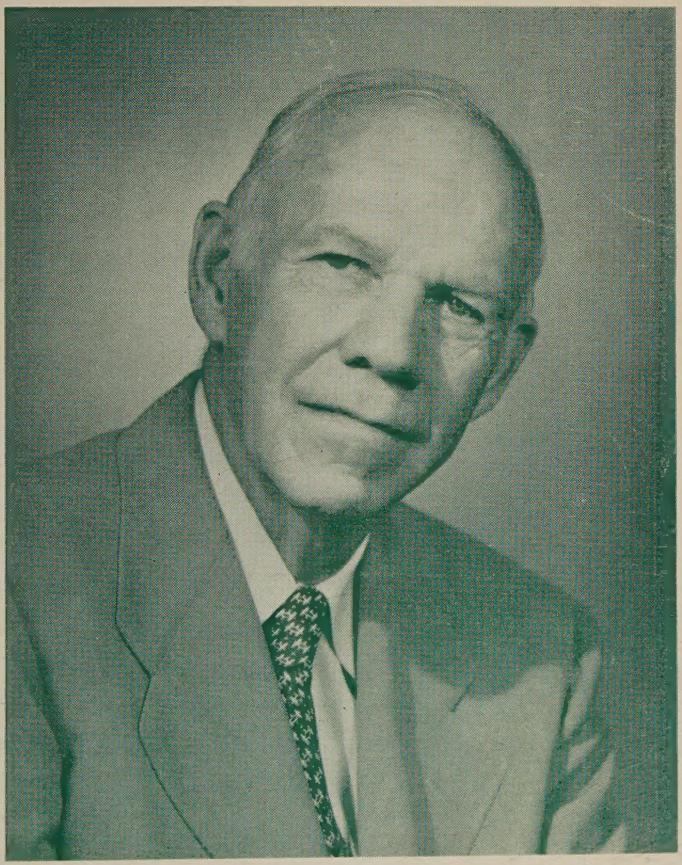
Fellowship



ROYAL W. FRANCE *Lawyer*

I Must Defend Them. by Royal W. France

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ff With elections coming up in a few months, Alfred Hassler takes the opportunity to discuss some of the issues of politics today, both the froth at the top and the deep underswells below, in "No Great Debate." . . . Royal W. France, a lawyer who fought for civil liberties at the time of World War I, now comes back from a period as a professor to be once more a lawyer who fights for civil liberties. In "I Must Defend Them" he tells why, at this particular juncture, he is returning to a very hard and thankless job. . . . A. C. Barrington of New Zealand tells the story of the Riverside Community there, its trials and tribulations and its gradual emergence with values that help its members to live whole, not fragmented, lives. . . . Meditation by Norman Whitney.

Help Wanted!

The FOR National Office, in New York, needs some help. A. J. Muste's secretary has to devote full time to her family, and someone is needed to take her place. Familiarity with the FOR and pacifism desirable; good knowledge stenography and typing essential. Equalized salaries start at $46.50 per week, with yearly increments following, plus hospitalization and health insurance paid by the FOR, social security, and three weeks paid vacation annually.

FELLOWSHIP

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CIVIL LIBERTIES ARE ASSAILED ON ALL SIDES, MEN PERSECUTED FOR THEIR BELIEFS, AND—

I Must Defend Them

By ROYAL W. FRANCE

OVER THIRTY YEARS AGO, in the administration of Woodrow Wilson, the man described by many historians as a great liberal, a notorious red baiter named Palmer was Attorney General of the United States. Then, as now, hysteria was sweeping the land. The successful Communist Revolution in Russia, the weakening of European capitalism by World War I, and the shrieks of the press, led by the Hearst papers, and of demagogic politicians, had created fear and distrust. Not only were radicals being jailed, but liberals who defended their right of free speech were also in jeopardy.

In March of 1917, I was a member of one of the most important law firms in New York City, the youngest member. The senior member was a fine, old conservative and Treasurer of the Republican Party. My brother was a newly elected United States Senator from Maryland. I, myself, was then a Republican and vice-president of the Brooklyn Young Men's Republican Club, a liberal organization of young men and one of the largest political clubs in the country. Darwin R. James, the president, was in the liberal wing of the Republican party; but he and I disagreed. He was backing Wilson's moves in the direction of war against Germany. I was opposed, and offered to debate him before the Club on the question of our joining in the war against Germany. He refused, but offered to call a meeting of the Club at which I could state my views.

In a large and crowded hall, just before Wilson demanded a declaration of war on Germany, I voiced my opposition. I said that Wilson

would demand a declaration of war "to end war and to make the world safe for democracy" but that our very entry into the war would make the accomplishment of this impossible. We would assure victory, complete and overwhelming, to one side, but Wilson himself had declared that "the only enduring peace would be a peace without victory." Never in history had completely victorious nations exercised the self-restraint necessary to set up enduring conditions of peace. We and our allies, if we went in, would win and impose conditions on the vanquished enemy that would sow the seeds of more wars. Nor would an impoverished and disillusioned Europe be safe for democracy. The only chance of achieving our aims, I urged, was to use our great power to bring the embattled contestants to the conference table before victory and there to use our influence to create a just and durable peace.

The Consequences

The next morning the report of my speech made the first page in all the New York papers. As I sat in my office reading with some satisfaction their fairly accurate accounts of what I had said, I received a summons to come to the conference room of my firm. My partners, all older men, were seated around the table in solemn conclave. The senior partner eyed me gravely.

"Roy," he said, "that was a most unfortunate speech that you made last night."

"From what point of view, Judge?" I asked.

"We won't debate the merits," he replied. "It is evident that we would not agree; but that speech will be displeasing to many of ou most important clients."

"I see," I replied. "You wish m to resign." He smiled a kind smil

"No. We have discussed that. W all like you. We think that you a a fine lawyer. We merely wish yo to agree to make no more suc speeches."

"Judge," I replied, "I love yo like a father, but I wouldn't mak an agreement like that with an man or for any price. You have m resignation."

We shook hands all around an parted friends, and I took a trai to Washington. Through the cou tesy of my brother, I was give a seat with the members of Con gress on the floor of the Hou when Woodrow Wilson demande war "without stint and witho limit" until complete victory shou be achieved. I happened to glanc up at the gallery where Margar Wilson, the President's daughte whom I knew slightly, was seate I caught her eye. I shook my hea in disapproval of her father words. She bowed hers. A sho time ago I read that Margaret Wi son had died in a pacifist, Buddhi convent in the heart of India. was obvious what she must hav thought of her father's efforts t end war by making it, and to pre serve democracy and the rule o reason by that most unreasonin of all of man's activities, the reso to force.

As I went out from the Capito I met a lawyer who had been member of a large New York firm but was now in the uniform of a army officer. He said, "Roy, you'r just the man I want to see."

"What's on your mind, George?"

He told me that he had bee commissioned by the Quarter master General of the United State

Army to organize a staff of competent lawyers to handle the contracts of the government to purchase supplies and equipment for our armed forces.

"But, George," I protested, "you know that I am opposed to this war."

"I know that, but you aren't opposed to saving money for Uncle Sam, are you?"

"Of course not; but would I have to be dressed like you?" I asked.

"You would be an officer of the United States Army," he replied humorlessly.

After consulting my wife, as every man of wisdom does, and such good friends as Norman Thomas, John Haynes Holmes and Nevin Sayre, who, like myself, had opposed our entry into the war, I became an officer in the American Army at the same time that I became a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I cannot now remember what Holmes, Thomas, Sayre and other friends said to me, nor have I ever been sure that my decision was right, but the most satisfaction that I ever had out of wearing an officer's uniform was that I was able to use my military authority to help the police disperse a mob of unruly soldiers who were trying to break up a pacifist meeting in the old Madison Square Garden. As the boys slunk back to quarters under my peremptory orders, the red-faced police captain who, with a thin line of mounted police, had been holding the rioters back before my arrival, wiped his brow and said to me, "Well, Captain, the b'ys was right; but we couldn't let 'em get away with it."

"Smells like a new racket, sarge! . . . it's called the Utopia Peace Society, with dues of a dollar down and 10 cents a month till the human race is perfect . . ."

I joined a new law firm of young liberals of my own age, Konta, Kirchwey, France and Michael. We had some important clients, among them the leading American fascist, William Randolph Hearst. By means of such compromises do lawyers and others live in our complex society! Several Socialists were elected to the New York State legislature. The legislature, in its wisdom, decided that if they were Socialists, they must be atheists, and if so they could not take and mean an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution. The members of the legislature were, of course, in the same sense that Senators McCarthy and McCarran are now, deeply concerned with constitutional rights. The Socialists were refused their seats.

My brother, who had been one of a handful of Senators to vote against the Espionage Act and who,

immediately after the armistice, had moved for its repeal, had accepted an invitation to speak at a meeting of protest against the exclusion of the Socialists. He arrived in New York on the evening of the meeting with so severe a case of laryngitis that he could not speak above a whisper. "Roy," he said, "you'll have to pinch hit for me."

Madison Square Garden was jammed and I was gratified that my remarks provoked prolonged applause. After the meeting a delegation from Philadelphia asked me to speak at a mass meeting in an armory there the following night in defense of civil liberties. I agreed. When I told the taxicab driver in Philadelphia to drive me to the Armory, he remarked, "Oh, that's where they're going to pinch the reds tonight." This sounded interesting.

The armory was packed. The first speaker was Jim Cannon, a labor leader who later, mistakenly I thought, became the leader of the Trotskyite faction in this country. He had a deep voice and a mask-like face. Without saying that he was quoting, he began reciting the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. When he came to the words "and if any Government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it," a plain clothes man sprang onto the platform and said, "Now you've gone too far; you've advocated the overthrow of Government." I became involved in an altercation with him over his attempt to switch off the lights, and all of us on the speakers' platform spent the night in jail. We were promptly released on the following morning by an embarrassed judge, and the arresting officer was dismissed from the force by the Mayor of Philadelphia, but once more I was subjected to front page publicity that would not be pleasing to conservative clients of a busy law firm. Over the protests of my partners, once again I resigned.

I did not mean to make this the history of my double life as a lawyer. I obtained other large clients and prospered in this world's goods, but in reorganizing great corporations for one of the best known investment banking firms in the world, I was not myself and I was not happy. In 1929, I finally shook the dust of the law from my feet, if that is the way you shake off legal dust, and accepted a professorship at Rollins College in Florida.

I Must Go Back

Now, after nearly a quarter of a century, I am unhappy again. I am returning to the practice of law. I am returning because I see, as Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas said in a recent article in the *New York Times Magazine*, "There is an ominous trend in this nation. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view in world affairs, intolerance for new or different approaches." Justice Douglas goes on to say, "Fear even strikes at lawyers and the bar. Those accused of illegal Communist activity—all presumed innocent, of course, until found guilty—have difficulty in getting reputable lawyers to defend them. I will defend them. Having terminated my duties to Rollins College at the end of the college year, my services will be available to unorthodox minorities, to conscientious objectors, to victims of racial and religious intolerance.

Already, my acceptance of the

(*Continued on page* 32)

What picture does a pacifist see in an election year when there is—

NO GREAT DEBATE

By ALFRED HASSLER

ON THE EVE of the Republican and Democratic national conventions, the fever runs hot in the blood of the politicians. The next month will see the climax of two of the most superficially exciting struggles for political preferment in the country's history. Republicans will have to decide finally between the claims of Senator Taft, unabashed spokesman for the extreme right, and General Eisenhower, whose position on everything but foreign policy remains at this writing shrouded in noble generalities.

The Democrats, already half resigned to defeat at the hands of the personable military leader to whom their own President is reputed to have proffered the nomination, will have to winnow their best candidate out of the chaff of a dozen hopeless hopefuls.

But the excitement is only superficial. There is only one real issue on today's political front, and that is the problem of what is to be America's relationship to the rest of the world, and to war. On this issue both major parties and all candidates disagree, if they disagree at all, only on details. Some of the details, such as Senator Taft's apparent program to end the Korean War by moving it over into China, may have an effect on the time schedule of World War III, but on the underlying issues there is no important difference of approach. Communism is a world menace defined almost exclusively in military terms; there is no way to deal with world communism except the way of force; the path to world peace is, therefore, the path of overwhelming military strength. From Taft to Stevenson, from Kefauver to Eisenhower, the candidates agree on this, and beside this unanimity all other disagreements are insignificant.

Why Corruption?

Corruption in government is probably no greater relatively than in the past—certainly not greater than in the Teapot Dome past of the loudly horrified Republicans—and is possible, according to at least one highly qualified observer, because of the easy label of secrecy that can be slapped on almost any transaction in government in the name of security. With the national preoccupation with the Communist menace what it is, it would be idle to expect any reduction in the security regulations on which the device of secret contracts and conferences rests.

Moreover, with government spending on an astronomical level, the most ingeniously contrived rules and regulations will not seriously impair the efforts of those determined to "get while the get-

ting is good." In the words of one modern philosopher, "Where there is a fast buck there is a dirty hand to reach for it."

Parenthetically, two other things need to be said about this corruption-in-government excitement. One is that wherever a bribe, of money or mink, has been accepted by a government official, a bribe has been offered—at least once—by some business leader or company. What this is saying, in other words, is that the problem of corruption in government really is a problem of corruption in our national life.

Our Culture's Influence

The second observation is not unlike the first. It is that Americans concerned about the income-tax collectors who for a price close their eyes to the peccadillos of a tax-evading tycoon, need to enlarge the area of their concern to the extent to which people generally are willing to sacrifice their most basic moral scruples in order to achieve the particular ends they have set for themselves. All of the extra-curricular cash in Washington is no more than the proverbial drop in the bucket beside the quite casual—and legal—way in which men exploit their fellows and pervert the truth daily in their struggle for power, prestige and money, the unabashed lies that make up a great part of modern advertising; the irresponsible waste of irreplaceable natural resources for private profit; the whole vast, complicated pattern of a culture in which personal gain has come to be the god to whom all sacrifices are willingly made. Nor can any of this be divorced from the most terrible of all the sacrifices of means to ends: the almost matter-of-fact acceptance of the rightness of inflicting agonizing suffering and death on millions of men, women and children in the interests of self-preservation. Where human lives become only the units of a battle plan or the digits of a casualty list, it is idle to expect minute scruples over the fate of a dollar.

Much the same thing is true of the other domestic "issues" of the campaign. All, even those with no apparent connection with the war problem, will be directly and strongly affected by the national concentration of time and money on "containing communism." Liberals who worry over attacks on "welfare spending" and "creeping socialism," and who envision a "return to McKinley" if the wrong man gets in, are barking their anxiety up the wrong tree. Like the Conservatives in Britain, the Republicans would not think of making any serious inroads into such established innovations as social security, while the Democrats, like the Laborites in their last days, know quite well the impossibility of appropriating any new funds for such things as national health insurance, federal aid to education, housing subsidies and the like, while war gobbles up eighty percent of the national budget.

"Creeping socialism" will slow down to a crawl except where the demands of "defense" become involved, and then the variety likely to erupt will more closely resemble the national socialism of the late Mr. Hitler than the kind of thing Norman Thomas would like to see.

Pacifists, and nonpacifists who appreciate the sterility of an arms race as a means of securing peace

are largely conscious of this situation, and it presents them with a difficult dilemma. Unwilling not to exercise their right to vote, and concerned about dealing with injustice and poverty in their own country, they may try to resolve the dilemma by shrugging off the foreign policy issue as hopeless and voting for the candidate whose domestic policy seems most acceptable. Yet it is the poverty and misery of much of the rest of the world, compared to American prosperity, on which the future hangs, and here their votes seem to sanction a continuation of a policy that can only serve to perpetuate that poverty and deepen the misery. For arms races and belligerence lead to war, and war takes even from those who have not the little that they have.

Minority Party?

In the past, many such persons have taken voting refuge with one of the minority parties, on the grounds that only by so "wasting" one's vote can opposition to current policies be registered and the groundwork laid for a genuine opposition party in the future. Norman Thomas, perpetual candidate of the Socialist Party, has been the quadrennial recipient of many a pacifist vote. Others, encouraged by the strong peace stand of the youth division of the Prohibition Party, have cast their ballot for that group's nominee. Four years ago, many of those who desperately hoped for a change in the direction of national policy put their faith in Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party.

But the Progressive Party, sapped of its potential strength by the degree of Communist control to which it submitted, has practically disappeared. The Socialists, endorsing the "police action" in Korea[1] and officially silent on NATO, have seen their strength decline rather than increase during the past few years, while the Prohibition Party has rewarded its youth affiliate's ardent work for peace by booting it out of the fold. None of these, therefore, has much to offer the perplexed pacifist either in terms of present protest or future hope.

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1 There is considerable opposition to this stand in the SP, and at the recent national conference of the Young People's Socialist League, that group withdrew its endorsement of the parent body's position.

The National Office decides to support a Pacifist Party

A Protest Vote

Partly because of this, there has been considerable discussion among pacifists this year of the advisability of sponsoring a national write-in campaign for a pacifist candidate, or even of organizing a party with a specifically pacifist platform. Generally, those who have supported one or the other of these procedures argue that only in this way can a protest be registered against the present foreign policy, and that even though no possibility of success exists, still the fact of such a party would make it possible to get widespread publicity for the pacifist position.

Only two actual attempts at setting up a party organization are known to have been made: the World Brotherhood Party, in New York City, and American Rally, with headquarters in Chicago. The first of these is a purely nominal effort by some individual pacifists with a specifically pacifist plank, and presumably will not even appear on the New York ballot, since it requires a petition with 3000 bona fide signatures even to place a party on the Presidential ballot in that state.

The American Rally is a more ambitious effort in the Middle West, built around the personality of its candidate, Brig.-Gen. H. C. Holdridge (Ret.), who has won some publicity in the past few years for his opposition to UMT and other aspects of American military policy. Its platform calls for ending the Korean War, though the means are unspecified; opposition to UMT; and some vaguely defined reforms in the monetary and fiscal policies of the country. Although the Party does not describe itself as pacifist, General Holdridge has asserted his own commitment t nonviolent ways of ending inter national tension, though agai without specifying the methods b which that desirable end will b accomplished. Some of the mor ardent Rally-ites, including th General himself, resemble the mor conventional politicians in thei straight-faced ability to predic actual victory for their candidate The realities of the situation, o course, are that it will probabl require a substantial job of re search with local election board even to find the total number o votes garnered by General Hold ridge.

In such a situation, each pacifis will decide his own course of actio at the polls in November in th full recognition that there is n really satisfactory answer to hi problem. Some will vote for major-party candidate in the hop that by so doing they can hel safeguard some principle in dis pute or protest some policy nc connected with the war issue Others will vote for a minor-part candidate, whether or not his plat form is acceptable to them, on th theory of the "protest vote." Sti others, even in the absence of an organized campaign, will write i the name of some pacifist leade hoping thereby to bring to some one's attention, somewhere, the ex istence of another answer tha force to the world's difficulties. substantial number, convinced tha there is actually no choice availabl for the pacifist, will abstain fro voting entirely.

No Immediate Effect

Except to the individual, it is c little importance how pacifist actually vote for President nex

fall. They will not affect the issue in any event, and the best possible minority vote would still be such a tiny fraction of the major parties' totals as to be utterly unimpressive. What is more important is the answer to be made to suggestions that pacifists organize for a concerted campaign of some sort in connection with the election, on the basis that this would (a) give many dissatisfied persons a chance to express their feelings, and (b) give pacifists an opportunity, through campaign speeches and the like, to present their point of view to the country.

The trouble with both these ideas is that a national political campaign is an expensive and time-consuming project. While this has its obvious injustices, it also has some justification. A political party and its platform are intended to be the means through which the popular will may be discovered. A national election is not a town meeting, in which every conceivable point of view may be expressed: any party that wants to get on the ballot should be able to demonstrate that some substantial number of citizens support its platform. Otherwise, any few citizens with a new political program —and there must be millions of them—could clutter up the ballot with a new party.

A pacifist party at the present time could win support from pacifists and no one else. It is probably true that many Americans would like to protest the course of American foreign policy, but they would protest even more vehemently a pacifist foreign policy. Pacifism is revolutionary. It would not try to "straighten things up"; it would turn them upside down. It would not seek by negotiation to convince the Russians how wrong they are and how right we; it would begin by trying to correct our own faults, and that would mean, just as a starter, getting out of the war business, regardless! It would not seek methods of making America, and American wealth, more secure, but of bringing help to the desperate millions of Asia and Africa, even at the sacrifice of some of our own comforts, even at the risk of our own national existence.

It is good that pacifists should want to bring this word to the American public, but they need neither an election nor a party emblem to do it. Any soapbox or pulpit or quiet conversation in a living-room will do, though if a group of pacifists want to label their soapbox with the name of a political party in the election season, there is probably no law against it. But before they invest their sparse and precious time and money in the effort to garner a few thousand uncounted votes, they should consider carefully whether the game is worth the candle.[1] There will be plenty of time for a pacifist party when there is a pacifist constituency with views for it to express. The job now is to get that constituency—a job that in the main requires patience and persistence, and that does not happen as the result of campaign speeches but more often as the outgrowth of a living faith that has been witnessed and is finally emulated.

[1] A mimeographed report by the Subcommittee on Pacifist Political Activity in connection with the 1952 election is available on request from the National Office.

Strength for These Days

A Habitation of Safety

By NORMAN J. WHITNEY

"How to endure when all around us die
Nations and gracious cities, homes and men . . ."

—Kenneth Boulding

IT WAS TUESDAY EVENING, June 27, 1950. A seventeen-year-old friend and I were sitting on the grass, our backs comfortably lodged against the side of a parked car, our faces toward the hills. We had come apart from the camp at his suggestion to talk about God and, as often happens when communication reaches a deeper and more intimate level than words can find, a living silence fell between us. As we sat, another camper came running toward us from the rural mailbox on the highway. Every motion betrayed excitement. He stopped and, with white face and shaking hands, held the evening paper before our eyes. In great black letters the words leaped from the page: "AMERICANS FIGHT REDS—Truman Orders Air and Naval Forces to Korea."

He paused; then, in a hushed, almost breathless voice, cried, "Norman, what shall we do now?" and without waiting for a reply hurried on toward the camp.

What shall we do now? Who of us has not echoed that question and who has not gone without an answer? Surely I have. Are we already past the point of no return? No one knows. Surely we are past the point of cheap and easy remedies.

Percy Bartlett, beloved English Friend and long-time Executive of the I.F.O.R., has just written me, "It is clear that there are far worse things than atom bombs." He goes on to speak of developments of the hormone weed-killer principle that would not just smash men's bodies and the work of their hands but could, apparently, "change the form, mentality and meaning of the human race." This sounds like the ultimate horror, but short of that Percy goes on to mention the controls available to totalitarianism, the moral effects of terror devices, the unreachableness of the source of such evils. "What," he asks, "does the ministry of reconciliation mean when men are so much the prisoners of their own fears that they dare not even make friends with one another? The bottom is apparently being knocked out of fellowship, community . . . so that our association will soon be limited to the longest range rockets loaded with hormones!" Then comes the crux of the matter: "This may be all frightfully exaggerated. But I want the best Christian pacifist brains to avoid the generals' tendency to fight the next war with the weapons and strategy of the last one, and to ask themselves exactly what Christian pacifism in

its quintessence ought to mean for the next ten or twenty years—if we have so long."

Michael Scott certainly had much the same thought in mind when he wrote from South Africa: "The organized power of the modern State, with its limitless capacity to pervert the truth and men's minds by every scientific means of communication, is driving men towards the madness of self-destruction. This hideous strength can only be met by the utmost detachment from the things of this world and the most selfless submission to a power which is greater than the physical force that is available to the modern rulers of the darkness of this world."

AS IS SO OFTEN TRUE, John Woolman has gone before us in thinking through our own problems. "In being inwardly prepared to suffer adversities for Christ's sake, and weaned from a dependence on the arm of flesh, we feel that there is a rest for the people of God and that this rest stands in perfect resignation of ourselves to his will. This condition, where all our wants and desires are bounded by pure wisdom, and our minds wholly attentive to the inward counsel of Christ, hath appeared to me as a habitation of safety for the Lord's people, in time of outward commotion and trouble."

Compare these sentences with Scott's, written in the idiom of our century. Woolman makes explicit an idea that is implicit in all the others—the answer involves suffering. Be prepared to suffer. This is an even less popular word. One of the most vividly remembered of all the countless CPS bull sessions in which I was privileged to share, involved this word. We were engaged in a long and honest search for understanding of a real difference. Light broke for us all when one group of men said, "Ah, but that's just the point! We do not accept suffering." We still differed, but now we understood the basis of our difference.

WE DO NOT ACCEPT SUFFERING and yet, how else is the spiritual power to which Scott and the others call us released among men? Is not this the very "Mythus of the Christian Religion" as Carlyle puts it, that a Man shall die, if need be, for the Truth?

Now we are engaged in a great power conflict testing whether two nations, conceived and dedicated to opposing ways of life, can exist together in one world. However the struggle is resolved great suffering is inevitable. What matters is not that we suffer, but that we suffer for the Truth instead of for a lie. On this decision depends, as it seems to me, the Dawn of that morrow which is bound to come after the darkness of this Night.

And if a man die. . . ?

IN THE HOT LONDON SUMMER of 1662, two hundred and fifty Friends lay in the filth and stench of the Seventeenth Century jails of that city. Twenty-seven of them died; among them Richard Hubberthorn at thirty-four; Edward Burroughs at twenty-eight. Something like panic came upon the young Society as their beloved leaders fell. What is this strange new faith into which we are come and where is it leading us? they enquired of "dear G. F." Here is George Fox's message to Friends in that dark hour:

> "Sing and rejoice, ye children of the day and of the light, for the Lord is at work in this thick

darkness that may be felt and Truth doth flourish as the rose, and the lilies do grow among the thorns and plants atop of the hills, and upon them the lambs do skip and play. And never heed the tempests nor the storms, floods nor rains, for the seed, Christ, is over all and doth reign. And so be of good faith and valiant for the Truth, for the Truth can live in gaols, and fear not for the loss of the fleece, for it will grow again."

What shall we do?

We shall endeavor, of course, to think with clear and critical minds; we shall strive to act creatively and with courage. But if we are to know "a habitation of safety in time of outward commotion and trouble," I think we must "sing and rejoice" *now*. We shall do well, I believe, to spend more time together in the natural and joyous fellowship of family and friends; we shall do well to spend more time, I am sure, than has been our custom, in "silent waiting before the Lord," both individually and corporately. Such practices are both healing and strengthening; we shall need to be healed from the hurts of the hour; we shall need to be strengthened for the tests of the morrow.

"In violence decay, starvation, need,
What can endure? Only the living Seed."

Twenty-Fourth Hour

There is a Form beyond these shapes that haunt the earth
Though now the mist and swirling dust becloud the view
I'll wait to see aright. . . .

Ingathering strength, I'll hurl my weight—when it is time—
Against the nearest shape, to move it into place.
And though there be but creaks and scattering of debris,
This, with my blood and tears will testify: A Scheme exists,
And *here* is no betrayal.

—Mary Lou Royer

This community aims at the whole life and greater participation, but provides

NO HIDING PLACE

By A. C. BARRINGTON

MODERN LIFE is satisfying for very few people. Progress and invention have not created the full, rich life for all that once seemed assured. "Nasty, mean, poor, brutish and short" was, I think, how the English philosopher Hobbes described the life of primitive man, but that description seems increasingly applicable today. Wars and rumors of wars; the stereotyped values of an essentially acquisitive society; the development of the mass mind with the cult of conformity; the absence of significant work and responsibility for the majority of workers; their consequent addiction to mass amusements, excitements and opiates; political hysteria; the perpetual motion of life without point or purpose; irrelevant religion—all these reflect the sickness of our society.

Riverside Community, now eleven years old, tries to provide a practical alternative to the vicious circle of increasing frustration for the individual and for society, and a climate in which everyone has opportunity and encouragement to become a fully developed responsible individual in a society in which all devote themselves to the common good.

The members do not claim to have a fully developed philosophy or theory of society and certainly have no comprehensive blueprint for a brave new world. The Community has not even a formal constitution, for it has long outgrown the simple statement with which it modestly began. The need for the formulation of agreed positions is beginning to be felt, however, and can now be approached in the light of working experience, although its difficulties are recognized. But practical day-to-day living on a basis of mutual aid and concern for the life of the world may perhaps be found to provide its own theory or pattern of society. While not replanning the whole world, the Community does feel that religion and politics in their present forms are unable to lead the world out of its chaos and confusion and the drift to disaster. A new beginning must be made, and the members look forward, insofar as they do look beyond their own immediate and very demanding

This is the second in Fellowship's series of articles on the intentional community. The first was The Community of Work by Claire Huchet Bishop, in April; and in July the next one will appear, on the Society of Brothers in Paraguay, written by Grace Rhoads.

activities, to the spreading of communities of many kinds and to the loose federation of these for regional and wider planning and cooperation.

Limited Size

A community, it is felt, should never be developed to a size beyond the personality-range of the families and persons composing it. There are human limits to the group association possible if an adequate level of personality-development, equal responsibility, and so on, is to be maintained. True self-government and cooperation are only possible where all the members may know one another fairly intimately and all meet together to discuss plans and policies and make decisions.

Riverside Community thinks that the Good Society for which, in some fashion, however dimly, all men sometimes yearn, must be built from the ground upwards; that it cannot be achieved by the gaining or exercise of "power" by individual persons, parties, or classes; (that, indeed, men are not fit to hold power over other men); that at every level it must be voluntary, noncoercive, nonviolent, cooperative, brotherly.

There is quite evidently something very wrong with the world, with society in general and, in one way or another, with every man. Instead of unified, richly endowed and fully developed personalities in harmonious societies, men in general are frustrated, dissatisfied, uncooperative, aimless. A substantial reason for this state of affairs is that man's vital functions have become divorced from each other. Thus work is one separate function, worship or religion another; politics is a little world on its own; education, recreation, "culture," "service"—each lives almost to itself alone. Not only is there little or no collaboration or cooperation between these vital functions, they may even be said to compete and struggle one against the other. Thus every man tends to become, like H. G. Wells' Mr. Polly, "not so much a human being as a civil war." It is on such considerations as these that Riverside Community makes one of its principal objectives integration both for the individual and society—integration of work and worship, education and service—through common ownership, cooperative labor, limitation and equality of income and equal responsibility, with supreme loyalty and devotion to God expressed in relation to all mankind and operated in that perspective within society in general and the immediate neighborhood in particular. It will be observed that there is no room here for frontiers or barriers of nationality, race, or color, and that "politics" for the members can be only the expression of living and fully integrated relationships, never a question of "power" or "authority."

A Small Beginning

The early days were difficult enough, and were complicated by the war. The experiment began when Hubert and Marion Holdaway and their nephew, after considerable discussion, formed the nucleus of a community in the winter of 1940, "based on the idea of equality economically, of worship of God, and of service to others." Several young COs and the wife of another joined the group, but in time all the men

were drafted, and only two of them later returned. Four of the families that joined the community in the early days withdrew after varying periods for different reasons. One of the families and one of the single men, all very young, withdrew partly because they had not reached "settling-down maturity" and partly because they felt they might prove unequal to expressing themselves in what they felt to be competition with older and stronger personalities. This was recognized as an important point, and the community saw in it a reminder of the need for self-discipline and restraint on the part of older members and of more attention to the nurture and encouragement of younger members.

The Whole Life

As one Community report states: "We are looking, in ourselves and in those who would join us, for dedication of the whole life and resources, tenacity and cheerfulness of spirit, and true self-discipline so that, with the enhancement of personality that springs from equal responsibility and work that has purpose and significance, there is willingness and indeed desire, voluntarily to defer to group aims and the major purposes of the community. We believe this kind of discipline to be more difficult and more potent than totalitarian forms. Those of us who recognize in ourselves tendencies to aggressiveness, domination, assertiveness and self-centredness, have in practical experience been glad to find these impulses at least to some extent restrained, modified and diverted in our desire to consider the needs of other members and further the common purpose. We of course fall short of our own expectations."

Meanwhile the Community had been taking shape and consolidating in several ways. A rough hillside section was acquired and cleared for a community housing site. This overlooks the lovely valley in which the main part of the farm lies and towards the encircling and beautiful hills over which snowclad Mt. Arthur majestically reigns. Several blocks of fairly mature pine plantations were purchased and provide timber for an extensive building program. Adjoining land and orchards were gradually added.

The Farm

The farm now includes about five hundred acres. Some of this is hilly and used for grazing sheep, but it is all capable of cultivation and a new area (last year 22 acres) is cleared and brought into cultivation each year. A start has been made with afforestation which the Community plans to continue steadily as a contribution to soil conservation as well as timber production. Apart from one valuable orchard two and a half miles away, the farm is now a compact unit, divided by the main highway between Nelson and Motueka (and exceptionally well served by motor transport of all kinds) and intersected by Chings Road. The river from which the Community derives its homely name runs alongside the main highway. Approximately 40 acres are in full-bearing orchards, mainly apples, but also pears, plums, quinces, and peaches, and these are being extended by new plantings.

Next to fruit the most important product is butter-fat, though wool,

with the present fantastic prices, is challenging its position. The milking herd next season will number 44 cows, for which a three-cow electric milking plant is employed. Pig-breeding consumes the skim milk and root crops, peas, hay, oats, barley are grown for pigs, cattle, horses and poultry, and some hay and clover seed for sale. Much tobacco and hops are grown in the Nelson district but the Community concentrates on the production of useful foods and will not produce anything regarded as harmful, wasteful or anti-social. Our sheep now number about 500, and poultry and bees are kept for community use. The pressing demands of the farm have often caused the vegetable garden to be neglected, but it is now more nearly adequate to community needs. Gooseberries and raspberries have been added to it.

Small Industry

Three tractors, a garden tractor, a power-sprayer, the usual farm machinery, a 15-cwt. truck, a car and three horses are employed. Fruit-packing, spraying, top-dressing, and hay-making are done to varying degrees cooperatively with neighboring farmers, and work has started on a new and larger packing shed, to be followed by a cool-store to prevent wastage of fruit through shipping and other delays. An irrigation plant has been installed pumping 12,000 gallons of water hourly to orchards and paddocks during dry periods.

A small sawmill has been operated for nearly three years and it has been developed until it produces all the Community's extensive timber needs. An electrically-equipped workshop produces all joinery and similar woodwork needed. Much concreting work has been done throughout the farm and on the housing site and a start has been made with the manufacture of concrete fencing posts. One of the Community's aims is to develop small industries (using electric power where desirable) integrated with life on the land. This will provide a more balanced life, greater scope for people of different temperaments and skills, and greater choice of occupation for the children growing up in the Community. An engineering workshop will probably be the next development; others kept in mind are printing, fine woodwork, cloth-making and a general store.

Another possible development we have discussed but so far not put into practice is to link the Community on some form of membership basis with professional or other people whose work is socially useful but requires them to live in a center of population or to travel, such as doctors or journalists. It would be desirable for such members, even in the cities, to fashion some sort of community life for themselves, possibly living together and pooling their incomes.

Few Were Farmers

Though few of the members had originally been farmers, willingness to learn, a fair average of intelligence, and enthusiastic belief in the Community and its purpose have made up quite rapidly for lack of experience. The farm is being worked and developed efficiently, and its team of workers would probably bear favorable comparison with that of other farms.

The individual family is the basic unit of the community, and each family is housed separately and looks after its own household. There is a probationary period, usually six months, before new members are admitted to full membership. On entering into full membership, any capital or other property (other than furniture and personal belongings) is contributed to the Community and is not withdrawable. In the event of a family deciding to leave the Community it is recognized that some provision may have to be made to enable the family to move elsewhere but such cases will be dealt with if and when they arise. The "no withdrawal" rule should deter people from lightly or irresponsibly committing themselves to Community membership, and avoid disruption of the Community by frequent withdrawals.

Homes Being Built

The development of the housing site is proceeding slowly, since it often has to be interrupted for fairly long periods, especially during the prolonged fruit harvest. All building is done by Community members, one of whom concentrates especially on this work. The first two houses on the site have been built very satisfactorily of rammed earth. As the earth must be rammed dry, it is not suitable for winter building and the third house (partly completed) is of wood.

A meeting for meditation and worship is held daily except Sundays at 6:45 a.m. in each house in rotation, one week at a time. Rotation ensures that both parents can be present at least when the meeting is in their home, and the children become familiar with the worship period. It is led in rotation, three mornings in succession, by the majority of the men and some of the women, and they are free to conduct it in any way that seems appropriate to them. Worship is followed by notices, outline of the day's work, and any necessary discussion. The householder for that week acts as chairman for this part of the morning meeting, and the work is planned in advance by one member who is appointed farm manager and has the assistance of building, finance, and pasture committees. A fuller service of worship is held on Sunday evenings in the two larger houses alternately, and members usually attend the Methodist service on Sunday afternoon. General work policy and program for the farm and the undertaking as a whole are laid down at an all-day (or longer) work meeting held as soon as practicable after the fruit season. This season is one of intense pressure for four to five months, but with a mixed farm, and development work always pressing, there is no "off-season" such as is usual on the average farm. After the morning meeting members return home and go to work at 8 o'clock. The regular working week is 44 hours but usually many more hours are worked; and members have two weeks' holiday each year.

A monthly meeting for general business is held in the evening and in each house in rotation. Additional meetings may be held at any time, but with the brief daily morning meeting and other opportunities of conferring they are not usually necessary. One member is chairman and another secretary. There is a women's meeting once a fortnight, at which the women

discuss any problems especially concerning them, often read a play, and sometimes do special jobs such as darning socks for the local Anglican Boys' Home, or packing relief parcels for overseas.

Pooled Finances

Each family draws a fixed allowance for family living expenses. Until the recent sharp increases in the cost of living the allowance was $14 weekly with a deduction of 60c towards the running cost of the Community car. Two increases have been made to meet rising costs, bringing the gross allowance to $16.10. Each family also draws the Social Security family benefit ($1.40 weekly for each child) and is provided with a house, firewood, milk, and whatever fruit, vegetables, honey and eggs are available. The allowance for single men is $8.40 weekly. Any surplus income is used for community development and some form of useful service.

The Community believes that a basic agreement on fundamentals is essential for sound social construction, and membership is restricted to Christian pacifists. At present seven families and one single man (15 adults, 19 children) are full members of the Community. In addition we have an Austrian family living on the community basis without entering into membership, and another family on an employment basis. Of the two remaining single men, one is a young Persian who has come to N. Z. to study farming and will be going to an Agricultural College next year, and the other would describe himself as one of the "lost," whose more respectable past associations have been with boxing and race-horses. We collected him after a two-hour brush at an open-air meeting, and "Mike" is making a serious attempt to attain a good life within the fellowship of community. He has happily taken charge of the farm horses, but when it comes to shoeing them has been obliged to fall back on the help of the local Methodist parson, who has kept them well-shod for a year or two!

Of the present members two were foundation members, seven have been members more than six years, two for three and a half years, two for two years, and two for one year. With all of these, while there may have been occasional disappointment at the rate of progress, (more rapid in recent years), or one aspect or another (sometimes in close association trivial things temporarily loom large), there is deep satisfaction with community life.

Integration of Education

About 40 families has been thought a desirable maximum for the present community. Overseas studies suggest sixty families. It is clear that greater numbers than at present would enable more integration of "vital functions." Integration of education, for example, has necessarily to be postponed for the time being. A token beginning has been made with a kindergarten led by a young married woman who was a trained teacher. A precarious "nursery school" accompanies the writer on the two horse wagon wherever it travels, through precipitous fords or other perilous places with no brakes and much bravado. A children's playground has been partially equipped and some gym-

nasium equipment is in use. Other activities of an educational character will be mentioned in a moment.

One charge that is sometimes met is that community is an "escape" from "the world" and its problems. In the same category is the suggestion that one could have greater usefulness in a large center instead of "burying oneself in a rural community." But the kind of influence one has in such jobs is only talk, words. And words without action in the end become sterile. Ideas and beliefs must be embodied in some fashion, however miniature in form, so that one is able to say: "Look here, *this* is what I mean."

People who continue to operate unconditionally a social system they know to be defective, if not downright evil and inevitably leading to disastrous results, are themselves escapists who refuse to face the facts of life. Some people could turn to community as a way of escape, but they would not find it there. They would find rather more life than they had bargained for. The cooperative life of community actually enables greater participation in the life of society than is possible for individuals or families living in isolation among thousands of others.

Riverside Community makes a practice of inviting Indian and other students at our Agricultural Colleges and elsewhere to visit it during vacations, with happy results. Several "problem families" have come within reach and some help has been given. Recently a farmer's wife from another part of N. Z., formerly unknown to members, was brought to the Community and given loving care for six weeks in an effort to avert a serious mental breakdown. For a period each year weekly open-air meetings are held in the nearest town (Motueka, five miles distant) in order to put forward and discuss the Christian pacifist approach to world, social and individual problems. In spite of much local prejudice and some hostility there are occasional direct results, and at least some thought is widely stirred up. During the Referendum campaign on the issue of compulsory military training, members held meetings in Motueka and in Nelson, 32 miles away.

Many Activities

In addition to this kind of activity in the surrounding community, many of the members are officers of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society, of the Methodist Church of N. Z., of the local Methodist Church and of the local public and high school boards. In addition they conduct a hobby club for boys, a drama club for girls, an adult education lecture-discussion course, a branch of the public library, and other activities; members play in the local cricket, tennis, rugby and badminton clubs, and one member annually exhibits paintings in the Nelson Art Gallery's exhibitions.

Riverside Community, it is necessary to reiterate, makes no claim to spectacular results, nor to be composed of exceptional people. Its members are ordinary men and women with plenty of human failings. But they regard the Christian life as one of high adventure and of revolutionary character, and they find the life of practical brotherhood in a community challenging, stimulating, absorbing and of boundless scope.

News from the Peace Front

Christian Students' Conference Appeals for Refusal to War

The Christian Youth Conference on War, attended by more than 250 students from 55 colleges and seminaries in 30 states and six foreign countries, declared that war is contrary to the will of God and the teachings of Christ, and obedience to the will of God and the mind of Christ "implies a refusal to participate in war." Held in Columbus, Ohio, on April 25-27, the Conference was sponsored by 75 church leaders of youth, the Quakers, Brethren and Mennonites, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and denominational peace groups.

Patterned on the Conference on the Church and War held in Detroit last May, the Youth Conference was addressed by Prof. Eduard Heimann of the New School for Social Research, Prof. John Oliver Nelson of Yale Divinity School, National Chairman of the FOR, Prof. George M. Gibson of McCormick Theological Seminary, A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the FOR, and Prof. Don Smucker of Mennonite Biblical Seminary. In addition, one session was devoted to a round table discussion by students from Korea, Germany, Japan, Egypt and India, on nonviolence and the struggle for national freedom, with Bayard Rustin as moderator.

After discussing the Christian's responsibility in a world at war, and hearing both pacifist and nonpacifist speakers, the students adopted an "Appeal to Christian Youth" which stated in part: "The Church forsakes its worldwide mission when it is drawn as a partisan into the conflict of nations and cultures. . . . For us, therefore, obedience to the will of God and the mind of Christ implies a refusal to participate in war and a rededication of positive expression of redemptive love in our life and work. . . . It is our hope . . . that Christians may unitedly and prayerfully re-examine their attitude toward war and seek a new and creative approach to the function which a truly ecumenical Church might fulfil in this critical hour."

Minister Leads Defense of Negro

The Rev. Fred H. Busher and five churchmen braved a mob of 150 to protect the home of a Negro in San Pablo, California. A brick had been hurled through a window of the house, which is located in a "white" section of the town.

The churchmen, greeted by jeers and catcalls, planted an American flag in the front yard of the threatened home and began reading the Declaration of Independence, until police arrived and ordered both groups to disperse.

The house had been recently purchased by Wilbur D. Gray, a 42-year-old war veteran who is vice-commander of an American Legion post.

F.O.R. Training Unit Planned for Summer

After previous highly successful caravans and peace training seminars, the FOR plans to carry on another this summer, based at Kirkridge, a retreat center in Bangor, Pennsylvania. Following the schedule used last summer, the group of students and young people will meet for study and discussion, with special speakers on various subjects. They will then separate into two or three groups, each going to one community to carry on a program there.

The projects will include mornings of constructive work, and afternoons and evenings of peace activities. The former will be such things as working at a community center and playground, a survey of job and housing opportunities for Negroes, a study program on technical assistance, and work in migrant camps. Communities that are considering having projects are West Chester and Erie, Pennsylvania, and Utica, New York. If you are interested, or know of young people who might be, write to Bayard Rustin at the National Office.

School in Washington Admits Negroes

Holding a unique position among the grade schools of Washington, D. C., is the new John Carroll High School, which is operating on a policy of nonsegregation. The $2,000,000 Roman Catholic school, in session though under construction, has enrolled nineteen Negro boys in its freshman class of 350.

The public schools of Washington are segregated, the Board of Education having recently voted 5 to 2 against any further consideration of the matter by either school officials or teachers.

An official of the new Catholic school has reported that only one parent has opposed the interracial policy, while many have expressed approval, and one of the Negro students has been elected a class officer.

Collier's War Pays Dividends

"The War We Do Not Want," *Collier's* issue containing numerous articles on what the world would be like after the next war, which it presumed we had won from Russia, increased their circulation from 3,400,000 to 3,900,000, according to *Time*, and almost doubled their usual sale of advertising.

The article aroused a storm of controversy here, but had an even greater impact abroad. *Collier's* editors explained that they had intended to point up the dangers and thus help prevent the next war, but the effect was to imply that the United States expected a war with Russia and was only planning what was to be done after we had won it. The United Nations, in whose name *Collier's* fought its imaginary war, officially protested the use of its symbol in the issue. It was originally intended to publish the articles as a book, but these plans were abandoned as a result of widespread protests, especially from abroad, and of the refusal of Edward Murrow of CBS, Robert Sherwood, playwright, and Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers union to allow their articles to be used in this way.

Drafting of COs Will Be Delayed

In a surprise move, Congress refused in March to appropriate $150,000 requested by Selective Service to administer the work of assigning COs classified I-O to jobs under the Selective Service Act. Accompanying the appropriations bill in which this item had originally been included was a report stating that "the committee of the House is not in accord with the conscientious objector program as presented and has denied funds for putting it into operation." Instead, Congress appropriated $15,000 which it instructed should be used "in order that further consideration may be given to this problem." COs, about whom General Lewis B. Hershey of Selective Service stated during the hearing, "You are dealing with a very special group of people, they have ideas about what they will do and what they will not do," can only await further developments.

The discussion in the House Committee on Appropriations between Congressmen and Selective Service officials was an interesting one, the gist of part of which we give here:

1. Were COs to stay at home, the government would be in an indefensible position.

2. Therefore, they must be assigned to an activity that will be "sacrificial."

3. "But if you order them to go somewhere and work and they do not have the money (for transportation) you have a problem." And also "There are people in the government who do not like the idea of slaves and debasing the wage schedule."

4. Therefore the executive order provides for going wages.

5. But should the government give preferential treatment to COs? "You give him a good job and pay his way. I do not understand that philosophy." Why not assign them to work battalions, with uniforms?

6. Because COs would not agree to anything of that sort. If they were assigned to build a school and then found it was being done under war contract, some of them would quit.

7. Yet anything would be better for society than having them in prison.

8. Then they should be paid, but no more than a soldier.

9. However, "We cannot make man live in a town, eat and sleep there, and pay him the same pay that an enlisted man gets. You immediately run into the law, particularly if they are working for private industry."

10. Yet the National Government is not prepared to hire them though it has issued an injunction that something must be done with them.

The tangle is so great that the very forms upon which registrants are expected to suggest work projects in which they would be willing to participate probably cannot be printed until further funds are authorized. No one now knows when actual drafting of COs will begin.

"To devise and foster plans towards world disarmament," and to stimulate public opinion for it, is the purpose of the recently organized British Commission on World Disarmament. Its members include Sir Richard Acland, Kathleen Lonsdale, Clifford Macquire, Philip Noel-Baker, Lord Boyd-Orr and Henry Usborne.

Heckle Swomley at Meeting in Scotland

During March and April John Swomley, Associate Secretary of the FOR, spent six weeks in the British Isles at the invitation of the British FOR, speaking under their auspices at numerous meetings and debates. In Edinburgh, Scotland, the meeting was a stormy one.

The meeting was sponsored jointly by the local FOR group, the Peace Pledge Union and the Edinburgh Peace Council, which is affiliated with the World Peace Council, considered by many to be dominated by the Communists. The last speaker on the program, Alex Reid, was a representative of the Peace Council, whose speech, while attacking western imperialism, justified North Korean military action and specifically stated that the time "was not ripe" for pacifism.

After the speeches, in the question period, John Swomley was prevented from answering questions by shouts and heckling from the audience, which was notably sympathetic to the position of Alex Reid, and allowed him to answer questions at length. After he had been shouted down the second time, John stood at the front of the platform and waited for the uproar to die down. When at length it did, he addressed the pacifists in the audience, telling them that in his opinion this was what they must expect if they collaborated with Communist front groups. At this point Reid appealed to the audience to halt their demonstrations, not on grounds of freedom of speech for those with whom they disagreed, but because they would jeopardize the cooperation of pacifist groups if they persisted in such treatment of a pacifist speaker. After two more questions to Alex Reid, the meeting was adjourned.

Youthful Peace Club Organized

With members ranging in age from four to twelve years, a peace club in Greenwich, Connecticut, has as its purpose "to stop quarreling in the neighborhood," according to a statement made by John Kernochan, age nine, the club's founder and president. Called the United Friends Club and modeled after the United Nations, one of the troublesome problems faced by the group since its inception last October has been the misuse of B-B guns by some of the older boys of the neighborhood.

However, the influence of the club has already transcended the neighborhood. Its impact was felt throughout the world when the United Friends donated the sum of 51c to the United Nations, the receipt of which the United Nations has officially acknowledged.

In settling neighborhood disputes, the final recourse, when the appeal of reason and resort to "our Army" has failed, is "if they don't confess we will talk to their fathers and mothers." Proof that the Club has accomplished something concrete was the inclusion at a recent meeting of a twelve-year-old former member of the B-B bloc.

The possibility of non-payment of dues by members has been met by the edict, "If you do not have your dues you will not have any refreshments."

Pacifists Demonstrate Against British Arms

Eleven British pacifists were arrested and fined 30 shillings each for a sit-down demonstration in front of the British War Office in Whitehall. Called "Operation Gandhi," the action was intended as a "symbolic appeal" for the acceptance of pacifist techniques in international affairs.

In a statement, the group said, "With recent public admissions that Britain is being converted into one of the chief atom-bomb bases of the world, we feel that words are not enough"—so they sat down on the pavement outside the War Office.

German Youth Rally for Peace

In Darmstadt, West Germany, more than 1,500 young men and women gathered, coming by bicycle, rail and bus and on foot to voice their opposition to military service. The young people represented many different groups, including unions, socialist and student groups, Catholic, Protestant and Quaker groups, and the War Resisters International.

Speakers at the meeting, which the Hessen Ministry of the Interior attempted to ban, were Pastor Herbert Mochalski, a close collaborator of Martin Niemoeller, and Dr. Nikolaus Koch, author of a well-known book on nonviolence. The whole atmosphere of the meeting was one of determination by the young people that they would no longer acquiesce in decisions in which they had no part, but the consequences of which were so important to them. The Newsletter of the War Resisters International reports that Dr. Koch's speech was the main feature of the evening and that he said in part: "The Federal Parliament and the Federal Chancellor have no right to act against the will of the people . . . We appeal to you to use direct nonviolent action. Show them there is no truth in the assertion that youth takes no interest in politics. Do not wait for others to act. Everyone must begin with himself."

Religious Journalists Oppose UMT, Blacklist

The Associated Church Press, composed of editors of religious magazines and newspapers, and to which FELLOWSHIP belongs, held its annual conference in Washington, April 16-18. The group, in spite of an appeal from Anna Rosenberg, Assistant Secretary of Defense in charge of manpower, reaffirmed its opposition to UMT. It also expressed its concern over increasing evidences of infringement on freedom of speech and of the press, upheld the right of individuals to express their beliefs, and condemned the widespread practice of blacklisting suspected Communist sympathizers in the radio and television industries.

Give a Week's Pay Check to Church

As a love offering for their church's building fund, parishioners of the Assembly of God in Experiment, Georgia, endorsed their week's paychecks to the church at the Easter Sunday service. More than 100 members thus gave a full week's pay.

British Soldier Walks Out

Herbert Wanbon, who volunteered for military service in 1948 in England, later decided not to return from his leave and sent to his Commanding Officer a formal statement of conscientious objection. "Fundamentally," he wrote, "the question is one of authority. An adult should act according to the judgment of his conscience. . . . The army, on the other hand, encourages moral irresponsibility. A man is kept in a state of childish dependence on the opinions and decisions of other men. . . . I had no right to enter into a contract with the army, seeing I am committed to the service of God. . . . I ask for legal clearance that I may be free to walk where I may be called."

The letter included information as to where he expected to be, and he was met by military police and taken to the guardroom in Whitehall, London. There he refused both food and bedding on the ground that he was not working for the army and therefore not entitled to them. Later he allowed the Medical Officer and assistants to feed him through a tube, because "I saw no reason to offer violent resistance to the doctor and make more repulsive a proceeding which must be disgusting for all of us."

Discussions in the guardroom revealed sympathy for his stand. The tall Irish Guards sergeant who inspected the prisoners every morning would stand in the doorway and shout "Any complaints?" At the end of three weeks, instead, he would open the door and meekly ask, "Are you all right, Wanbon?"

Finally Wanbon was brought before a medical board which questioned him about his position and then discharged him for "ceasing to fulfill army physical requirements." His company officer was plainly glad to convey the news and had apparently determined from the beginning that everything should be done that legitimately could be done to help him.

Mutual Aid Plan Faces Crisis

With only $700 in the fund bank, and a wife with four children who need assistance while the CO husband is in prison, the Mutual Aid Plan organized by Ohio Area Peacemakers is today in a precarious position. The plan, whose purpose is to create a permanent fund for those who need help due to privations involved in making their pacifist witness, was begun a little less than a year ago, with eleven persons or groups contributing during 1951.

Those who join agree to devote the proceeds of one day's labor per week to the fund during periods of emergency, and at other times a tenth of a day's pay.

In a plea for additional members, Wally Nelson writes, "This is our chance to stand side by side with all the men of conscience in prison, to share with them because they are sharing so much with us."

Fundkeeper for the group is Margaret Schauffler, 100 S. Cedar Street, Oberlin, Ohio.

The FOR has etchings of Fridtjof Nansen by Eberhard Tacke, the East German FOR artist who did the excellent one of Gandhi.

Krupps Will Not Make Arms

On April 4, 1951, American papers carried the story that the Krupp works in Essen, Germany, would "never make another gun. . . . After twice getting our fingers burned building arms for two wars, no one can justly complain if we say, 'Never more!' "

In February, 1952, in answer to a letter from Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War asking for confirmation of this position, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Hardach who, the papers say, "actually runs the Krupp business," wrote that they did not want to interfere in such political affairs as German rearmament, but continued: "As you are aware, . . . the Krupp Management and the Krupp Works council have repeatedly defined their position in this matter; their opinion has not changed ever since." He added that in any case the works had been dismantled extensively and were incapable of making arms, and also that both employees and management had witnessed the devastation of two wars, and "there will be no inclination for repeating such experience."

Children Plead for World Peace

To plant "seeds of peace in the world's peace garden" with pennies, letters, clothing and thoughts is the purpose of the Children's Plea for Peace. Thirty thousand pennies have been collected and turned into Multi-Purpose Food for children of Asia; the names of five thousand "pen pals," child correspondents abroad, have been given to children in this country; fifteen hundred pounds of clothing was sent to Korea last winter; and a ninth grader has written, "We *love* being able to work for peace."

The idea, which was originated a year ago by Mrs. Harold Ruopp, FOR member, in her husband's church, has now become part of the "World Affairs Center" at the University of Minnesota.

Talladega Has Mixed Student Body

Talladega College, in Talladega, Alabama, although previously it had had white students who were sons and daughters of some of their professors, now has its first outside white student, and expects to have more in coming semesters. So far, it has created no excitement on the campus and no uneasiness in the community.

Talladega's President, A. D. Beittel, writes that the college will welcome inquiries from promising Caucasian students who would like to participate in a college program somewhat different from the conventional one.

Richard Nassal of Akron, New York, was sentenced to 18 months in prison by Judge Knight in January. The judge declared that he did not believe Nassal was a sincere CO because he had bought U. S. Savings Bonds and because he had not made his beliefs known widely to his fellow workers and neighbors. (These points were dwelt on in each hearing, and should be kept in mind by COs and their parents.)

Jottings

Gilbert Beaver, one of the founders of the FOR and a life-long member, died at his home in Yorktown Heights, New York, on April 28. He and his wife, Jean Beaver, had been planning to turn their house into a retreat center for religious and pacifist groups.

* * *

The American Friends Service Committee will sponsor family camps on June 14-21 at Camp Mary Orton, Ohio, and from August 23-30 at Camp Merrill Palmer, Michigan. Write the AFSC, Box 274, Bexley Branch, Columbus 9, Ohio, for particulars.

* * *

The FOR and the AFSC will jointly sponsor a second New England Workshop-Retreat from July 3-12 at The Barrett Farm, Harvard, Massachusetts. Its theme will be "The Basis and Future of Pacifist Living," and leaders will include A. J. Muste and Cecil Hinshaw.

* * *

The College Cevenol, founded by Andre Trocme and Eduard Theis at Le Chambon in France, will have a summer course in languages and civilization for young people of all nationalities between the ages of 14 and 20. The program will be in session from July 9 to August 5, and will include French, English and German languages, and a study of the literature and civilizations of the three countries. Further information may be obtained from Mr. and Mrs. Carl M. Sangree, West Cummington, Massachusetts.

British scientists have formed a National Peace Organization of Scientists out of concern for the weapons which modern technology has produced. The group was founded after a meeting of two hundred scientists in London, and among the founders are Lord Boyd Orr, Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale and Dr. Alex Comfort.

* * *

The Summer Institute for Social Progress, heretofore held at Wellesley College, will take place at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, from June 28 to July 12. The theme this summer will be, "November and After: Issues that Transcend the Election."

* * *

The Peace Pledge Union Journal, published in England, is now appearing bi-monthly in a new format, with a new editor—Brian Cummings.

* * *

Since the United States has a department concerned with war but no peace department, an unofficial Department of Peace, located at 1707-19th Street N.W. in Washington has been organized by Dr. Glenn Clark and Dr. Frank C. Laubach. The new department emphasizes prayer and good works.

* * *

A ten cent package of seeds purchased in the U. S. can, with proper cultivation, produce in the Philippines the equivalent of $10 worth of vegetables, according to Seeds for Democracy, 2 Pine Street, San Francisco.

Books

Seekers and Finders

The Choice Is Always Ours, Source Book for Spiritual Progression, edited by Dorothy Phillips, Lucille Nixon and Elizabeth Howes. Richard R. Smith, 1948. 525 pp., $4.50. Third printing.

The fatalism which Mo-tze nearly 2400 years ago pinpointed as "the invention of wicked kings and the practice of miserable men," is no less a menace today. Sometimes it expresses itself in the alibi "What can *I* do?" Oftener it is an unspoken assumption and therefore more deadly, like the gas that puts you to sleep without any warning bad smell.

The Choice Is Always Ours offers a more dynamic and positive major premise. It draws on 170 seekers and finders ranging from Isaiah, Buddha, Lao-tze, Augustine, Eckhart, and John Woolman to Aldous Huxley and Douglas Steere; packs their findings into 530 pages with illuminating explanatory comments where necessary; and steadily leads the reader on through the knowledge and healing of the self, the why and how of meditation, up to the final object of allegiance and contemplation—*the love God is.*

A young adult fellowship of a Hollywood church spent a semester studying and digesting parts of this book which spoke definitely to their condition. They join the pastor in eagerly recommending it as nourishment to be enjoyed and shared (but not gulped down). Nels Ferré lists it as an aid to spiritual growth. This book has already gone through at least two printings. That indicates how widely useful it is proving to be for more and more people. The appeal is not just the comprehensiveness and universality represented, but the sense of essential meaning or wholeness. Here are some sentences that suggest the flavor. The last one is from Rufus Jones.

"We are the fruition of a process that stretches back to star dust . . . We fail and fall by the way, yet redeeming grace fashions us anew and eliminates our failures in the larger pattern." "Deeper . . . than sexuality . . . the craving for social power . . . the desire for possessions . . . is the craving for knowledge of the right direction—for orientation." "There is no stopping place in this life." "You must yield up power over anyone." "That point in which we least mistrust ourselves is precisely that which needs most distrust." "Generally the patient who is cured is not praying for himself." "To inspire a soul with the true idea of prayer, to get it interested in its prayer, is the greatest thing we can do for it." "Follow your longing and it will lead you to God." "Once at least . . . there broke through a revelation of Purpose in the Universe so far beyond the vague trend of purpose dimly felt in slowly evolving life that it is pos-

ible here to catch an illuminating vision of what the goal of the long drama may be—the unveiling of sons of God."

—Allan A. Hunter

Conduct of Retreats

Retreats for Protestants—A Brief Manual, by John Oliver Nelson. Kirkridge Retreat Center, 1950. 15 pp., 10c.

Kirkridge has recently issued this brochure, a compact, clear, and remarkably complete outline of the conduct of retreats, answering pretty much all the questions as to what a retreat is, how many should attend, what the program for a day should be, and so on. It seems to us that every FOR member, certainly every minister and religious education worker, ought to have a copy of this small pamphlet.

—A. J. M.

Responsible Religion

God and the Nations, Edited by Paul N. Poling. Doubleday, 1950. 128 pp., $2.00.

This book is an effort to set forth the responsibility of religion in the troubled world in which we live. It has been edited by Paul Newton Poling, the Secretary of the Division of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian (U.S.A.) Board of Christian Education, and is a collection of five essays by Harry Rudin, Vera Dean, Walter Van Kirk, James Warburg, and Pitirim Sorokin.

The chapters by Dr. Harry Rudin of Yale and Dr. Sorokin of Harvard are especially good. Sorokin, for example, has traced the relation of totalitarianism to war. "Totalitarianism, including its Communist form, withers when there is tranquility, peace and an absence of emergencies, especially the threat of war."

The other three chapters are not nearly so effective. Vera Dean thinks it was the balance of military power which kept peace in Europe for years and that it was the failure of America to stay mobilized, to continue rationing and other wartime controls, which convinced Russia she could expand. For one whose reputation for knowing Russia is so good, Vera Dean's chapter on the United States and the USSR is weak and misleading.

Walter Van Kirk's essay on National Sovereignty and World Community discusses the strengths and weaknesses of Atlantic Union and Federal World Government, and indicates that "the churches . . . are practically unanimous in their support of the United Nations." But, like the Federal Council's resolutions, nothing specific is recommended to strengthen the UN, such as ending unilateral action by the United States through its Truman doctrine, or ending the "sole trusteeship" of the United States over Pacific islands, etc.

The book is the forerunner of a study guide whose purpose is to facilitate group study in the churches of the problems presented in the book.

—John M. Swomley, Jr.

Send in your contribution to the FOR early. If the budget is assured the staff need not spend valuable time in the raising of money.

Letters

From Africa

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We appreciated your letter of December 19, and are glad to hear of the steady membership in the FOR, but at the same time can realize what a strain people are under and how it affects their willingness to join with any organization that might become branded. And yet, is that not just what our Lord Jesus promised those who would truly follow him?

We continue in prayer for you and other FOR leaders, as well as for the organization and other peace groups. We realize with you that a new Pentecost is needed, and we know that prayer is powerful to bring men into tune with God, and in moving His arm to seek and to save—and to give another Pentecost that will shake even the hardened hearts of political men—and of the people in general.

We wrote to forty-two U.S. Senators and Representatives registering our opposition to UMT, when it was before Congress.

PAUL H. MERKLE
EVALYN F. MERKLE
French Cameroun, West Africa

In Another Era

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

On July 4, 1845, Charles Sumner gave what is probably the most unusual oration ever given on this historic date. It was delivered before the municipal authorities of Boston. The thoughts he expressed gave much offense to prominent Whigs, and led to his eventual withdrawal from the party.

At one point in the address Charles Sumner compares the military expenditures of the eight years of Washington's administration with those of the years 1835 to 1843. The United States government under Washington spent nearly $11,000,000 for armaments. (It is interesting to note that in the year 1792 the sum of $53.00 was spent on the Navy.) During the years 1835 to 1843 military expenditures had increased to $163,000,000. This represents an increase of approximately 1500 per cent.

The average annual expenditures of the Federal Government during the six years ending in 1840 were $26,474,892, exclusive of payments on the national debt. The annual appropriation for military purposes during this same period came to $21,328,903. During this period of relative peace the national government was devoting 80% of its budget to preparation for war. The percentage spent for military purposes in Austria was 33%, France 38%, Prussia 44%, Great Britain 74%, and the United States 80%.

During the years 1789 to 1843 the national government spent, excluding payments on the national debt, $246,620,055 for civil purposes. During this same period military establishments received $538,964,278. Taking from this the expenses of three years of war there still remains over $400,000,000. To this sum must also be added the expense of the militia which averaged at least $25,000,000 per year. This increases the total expenditures to well over one-and-a-half billions.

It would also appear that Point IV was

not conceived in our lifetime. Sumner states early in his address, "He is the benefactor, and worthy of honor, who brings comfort where before was wretchedness—who dries the tear of sorrow—who pours oil into the wounds of the unfortunate—who feeds the hungry and clothes the naked—who does justice—who enlightens the ignorant—who unlooses the fetter of the slave—who, by virtuous genius, in art, in literature, in science, enlivens and exalts the hours of life—who, by word, or action, inspires a love for God and for man." These are truly noble sentiments.

It is "Not that I love country less, but Humanity more, do I now, on this National Anniversary, plead the cause of a higher and truer patriotism. I cannot forget that we are men, by a more sacred bond than we are citizens—that we are children of a common Father more than we are Americans. Recognizing this truth, the seeming diversities of nations—separated only by the accident of mountain, river, or sea—all disappear and the various people of the globe stand forth as brothers—members of one great human family. Discord in this family is treason to God. War is nothing else than civil war."

If anyone can top this sample of Independence Day sentiment I will be delighted to hear it.

ELWOOD CRONK
Pleasantville, New York

Word from Turkey

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

You are probably aware that 150,000 Turkish speaking peasants from Bulgaria have been transported here to Turkey in the last year. All their property and belongings in Bulgaria was confiscated by the Bulgarian government, and they came with only a water jug. In place of my FELLOWSHIP contribution, I am planning to give about $30 in Turkish money to help a few of them get started.

SHIRLEY BUTTERFIELD
Istanbul, Turkey

From a Soldier

. . . The men in this camp and my company (the basic unit of 200) are from all over the U. S. and Puerto Rico. I'd say that just about every social stratum is represented as well as every mentality level. All these people are being moulded into soldiers whose single objective is to kill others and manage at the same time to live themselves. . . .

A very important part of the training is that the individuality of the person is systematically destroyed. The emphasis is laid on the group as a whole and one member has no say. The caste system of ranks is so rigid that one quickly learns to do and not ask why when ordered by a superior. . . .

A philosophical indifferentness is settling over the men. Right now, it has reached the point where they pay little attention to things happening around them. Later this will develop into a callousness to death as well.

It is this attitude toward death that mystifies and disturbs me the most. In all our classes and exercises, we learn ways to kill and out-maneuver the enemy and save ourselves. The enemy is looked upon as an unfeeling entity which must be disposed of. It amazes me how intelligent officers can think that way. We don't learn to hate, but we do learn to kill an entity. This is being quickly accepted by the men. And another distressing thing is the indifference to the imminent danger they face of being thrust into combat.

"Modern War" is a science which demands experience to wage successfully. Men remain expendable when necessary, however: us.

So I become more disillusioned all the

time as I am myself moulded. I see less point to fighting all the time, and yet cannot be persuaded of the practicability of any less animalistic method of war.... JACK ....

Creeping Fascism

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

For over forty years I was a missionary in Angola, Portuguese West Africa. Something like 25 years ago the Portuguese Republic was overthrown and a clerico-fascist dictatorship established. I note that some of the propaganda dodges used against the Portuguese Republic are being used on us in the United States now. One thing is the extraordinary development of the military. . . . The overthrow of the Republic was a military coup. Then military men were installed in positions of power. The military setup has been continued up to the present. I believe that it is axiomatic that a dictatorship requires a large military establishment. No army, no dictatorship. Another item was the "anti-Communist campaign." If there were any Communists in the colony they were out of my ken. The people disadvantaged and imprisoned were Masons, liberals, the more educated, and the sincere believers in and practitioners of democracy. The campaign was sparked by the church. . . .

MERLIN W. ENNIS
Lexington, Massachusetts

FRANCE (*Continued from p. 4*)
defense of Communists has caused deep chagrin to many friends whom I cherish. That was inevitable, but to me the case is clear. Certainly, behind the mythical Iron Curtain the rights of dissenting minorities are not protected. There is only one way to help those countries to believe in and practice political tolerance, and that is to practice it ourselves.

If we, with a tradition and practice running back to Magna Carta and through the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, are unable, in times of tension, to preserve the freedom of speech of our dissenting minorities; if men are now in jail not, as I believe, because either the government or the courts seriously believed that anything they had said or done really tended to overthrow this government by force but because of what Justice Douglas calls "The Black Silence of Fear," because we have lost the faith in the competition of ideas in the marketplace that dictated the Bill of Rights, how can we expect political and religious tolerance in countries that have no such background of liberal tradition and that have just recently passed through revolution? If a Negro could not speak for his race in my own State of Florida without being bombed, what right have I to stickle on the absence of civil rights elsewhere? Free speech is a principle that is at the very heart of the democratic practice. The only way to spread its beneficent light to other lands is to practice it uncompromisingly ourselves. This I will defend.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Cal.

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